

## THE LONG LIFE OF THE BENEVENTAN TRADITION: THE RELATION BETWEEN THE BENEVENTAN PONTIFICAL OF KOTOR AND THE GOTHIC PONTIFICAL OF DUBROVNIK<sup>1</sup>

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### *Abstract*

The Vatican manuscript Burghes. 14 contains a pontifical or book of episcopal ceremonies written in Gothic script in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Intended for the use of Dubrovnik it was later in Avignon and then Riga. Many of the manuscript's ordines are based on ordines in the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, a collection composed in Roman circles in several stages through the thirteenth century and the most-copied pontifical of the later medieval period. In addition to these ordines, the manuscript contains local elements, a number of which are based on texts like those copied in a twelfth-century Pontifical from Kotor in Beneventan script (St. Petersburg,

BRAN, F. 200). Many of the local elements have been erased or otherwise modified to bring the manuscript into conformity with Roman practice.

**Key Words:** Città del Vaticano, BAV, Burghes. 14, St. Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200, Dubrovnik pontifical, Kotor lectionary-pontifical, thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, liturgy, Dalmatia, manuscripts

**Ključne riječi:** Vatikan, BAV, Burghes. 14., St Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200, Dubrovački pontifikal, Kotorski lekcionar-pontifikal, Pontifikal Rimskog dvora iz 13. stoljeća, liturgija, Dalmacija, rukopisi

The Vatican manuscript Burghes. 14 is a little-studied late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century pontifical or book of episcopal ceremonies written and used initially in the archdiocese of Dubrovnik. Its origin is evident from its contents:

<sup>1</sup> Research for this paper has been supported generously by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through the Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana project. The paper is dedicated to the memory of the late Roger E. Reynolds, director of the project, mentor, colleague and friend, whose work on Beneventan manuscripts, medieval liturgy and ordinations is fundamental and inspired my own interest in the field.

two ordines refer to the use of Dalmatia, and St. Blasius, patron of Dubrovnik, is cited in its litanies and the oath taken by new bishops.<sup>2</sup> An *ex libris* on fol. 154v indicates that the manuscript later came into the possession of Fredericus (de Pernstein), archbishop of Riga (1304-1340), and it was later noted in the papal inventories of Avignon.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript has been described several times. In his 1897 catalogue of the liturgical manuscripts in the Vatican library, Hugo Ehrensberger considered Burghes. 14 a fourteenth-century Pontifical of Riga («Pontificale Rigense»).<sup>4</sup> His evidence for its origin was the reference in the oath of a bishop to «domino B. dei gratia Rig[ensis] sedis archiepiscopo» (147v) and the *ex libris* (154v). The manuscript does indeed appear to have been in Riga, but this provenance is only part of the manuscript's story, and may have caused Ehrensberger to overlook evidence for its Dalmatian origin. Henry Marriott Bannister moved the discussion to a fuller understanding in his 1913 description, in which he included the first part of the manuscript, fols. 1-149, in his section on Italian square notation after 1300, and the second part of the manuscript, fols. 149v-154v, in his section on German notation on rules.<sup>5</sup> Bannister described the contents as principally Roman, but observed that corrections brought many ordines into conformity with Roman use and that the second dedication ordo had the annotation «secundum dalmatinos» (43r). Bannister noted the *ex libris* referring to the archbishop of Riga, but added that an earlier *ex libris* erased from the lower edge of 154v referred to a diocese ending in «...cani» or «...tani». Bannister identified the principals in the oath of an abbot on

<sup>2</sup> An annotator has added the reference to Dalmatia in the title for the manuscript's alternative ordo for the dedication of a church (43r-60v): «XXXII. Incipit (alius) ordo (secundum dalmatinos) consecrationis ecclesie» (the parentheses indicate interlinear additions). In the Holy Thursday ordo (86v-94r), an alternative to the Roman order is listed as «secundum consuetudinem dalmatinorum» (91r), and the note that certain churches follow a practice «sicut ecclesia castellana» (94r) may refer to the Kaštel district of Dubrovnik or its monastery of S. Maria de Castello. St. Blaise is cited in the ordination litany (2v) and has been added to the litany in the Ordo commendationis anime (109v). The episcopal oath on fols. 147v-148r requires a visit to the archiepiscopal see on the feast of St. Blaise, the patron saint of Dubrovnik: «archiepiscopalem ecclesiam singulis annis per me aut per ceterum nuncium in festo sancti blasii uisitabo» (148r).

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 154v: «Ordinarium sive pontificale fratris Frederici archiepiscopi Rigensis ordinis fratrum minorum et pertinent ad ecclesiam Rigensem»; for the identification of the archbishop as Fredericus de Pernstein, see Anneliese MAIER: *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Studi e testi 170, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1952, 16. For the Avignon inventories, see Daniel WILLIMAN and Karen CORSANO: *Early Provenances of Latin Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Vaticani Latini and Borghesiani*, Studi e testi 405, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2002, 74, with references that the manuscript was in safekeeping in Lyon in 1324, and in the Avignon catalogues of 1369 (no. 1247) and 1411.

<sup>4</sup> Hugo EHRENSBERGER: *Libri liturgici bibliothecae apostolicae vaticanae manuscripti*, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau 1897, 553-554, no. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Marriott BANNISTER: *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig 1913, 173, no. 596 (fols. 149v-154r), and 178-179, no. 638 (fols. 1-49r); among the eight musical hands that Bannister identified, the seventh was responsible for the «Confiteor» on fols. 148v-149r, and the opening of the *Ordo ad uelandas uirgines* on fol. 149v, but the eighth musical hand, writing a later German notation, adapted this opening section and added the music for the rest of the ordo.

147v as P[aulus], bishop of S[emgallen or Seloniensis] in the archdiocese of R[iga] (1322-1326), and in the oath of a bishop as P[aulus] and B[aronus], for Federicus Baronus, archbishop of Rig[a]. Bannister noted, however, that Federicus is not otherwise cited by this name, there is no record of an archbishop B. of Riga at this time, and Paulus was bishop of Curland not Semgallen since Semgallen had been united with Riga in 1251.

In her catalogue of the Borghese fonds, Anneliese Maier settled the question of origin.<sup>6</sup> She described the manuscript as a pontifical for the use of Dubrovnik, and identified the participants in the oaths of an abbot and bishop as »P[etro] S[tagnensis] diocesi episcopo«, i.e., Peter of Ston, who was elevated in 1286, and »B[onaventurae OFM] Rag[usinae] sedis archiepiscopi«, who was elevated in 1281.<sup>7</sup> Maier added that St. Mark (»S. Marce«), a patron of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and St. Adalbert of Prague (»S. Voytechii«), likely a patron of Riga (»fortasse Rig.«), were added to the litany on fol. 2v. Maier identified the twenty-two ordines in the manuscript based on the Roman Pontifical of the Curia, and described the remaining ordines as local, many with annotations to bring them into conformity with the Roman liturgy.

Pierre Salmon is the most recent cataloguer to describe the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> In his catalogue of Vatican liturgical manuscripts, he notes that the Pontifical, written either late in the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth century, was intended for the use of Dubrovnik and contains a Pontifical of the Roman Curia, which simplifies Maier's analysis and may have led scholars to overlook the manuscript as simply another witness to the diffusion of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia. Most recently, I have described the manuscript briefly and noted the connections between Burghes. 14 and a twelfth-century Beneventan lectionary-pontifical from

<sup>6</sup> MAIER: *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Fol. 147v: »LXXI. Iuramentum quod prestat abbas uel abbatissa in (sua) consecratione. suo episcopo. Ego. N. abbas siue abbatissa monasterii sancti I[lli]us diocesis S. uobis domino P. dei gratia S. diocesis episcopo uestrisque successoribus canonice substituendis et ecclesie R. promitto obedienciam ...«; 147v-148r: »Iuramentum quod prestat episcopus in (sua) consecratione. suo metropolitano. Ego. talis ecclesie. episcopus. P. ab hac ora in antea fidelis et obediens ero. ecclesie. R. et uobis domino. B. dei gratia rig. sedis archiepiscopo. uestrisque successoribus canonice intransibus ...«; see also n. 2 above. P[eter] is cited in both oaths; B[onaventura] in the oath of a new bishop. The reference to Bonaventure, identified by his initial, is listed in fact as the archbishop »Rig[ensis]« but Maier argued that an original »a« had been carefully modified to turn »Rag.« for »Ragusa« (Dubrovnik) into »Rig.« The letter form allows such a change, but even under ultraviolet light it is not clear that »a« was ever the intended letter or that strokes were erased to change the letter, although the reference to St. Blaise is telling, and as Bannister noted, there was no B. holding the see of Riga in this period.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre SALMON: *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque vaticane*, vol. 3, Studi e testi 260, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1970, 18, no. 35. For other recent references, see Richard KAY: *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscripts, Pontificals and Benedictionals*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 2007 (internet publication: <http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/handle/1808/4406>), no. 1057. In addition to the catalogues noted above, Kay cites Edmond (Eugène) MOELLER: *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, CCL 162b, Brepols, Turnhout 1973, p. 99; Massimo CERESA: *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1986 - 1990)*, Studi e testi 379, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1998; and Giacomo BAROFFIO: *Iter liturgicum Italicum*, CLEUP Editrice, Padova 1999.

Kotor (Saint Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200),<sup>9</sup> connections which are analyzed more fully in the present article.

As Maier and others have noted, the manuscript is written in two parts, fols. 1-149r, the Dubrovnik pontifical, and fols. 149v-154v, likely intended for the use of Riga. Both sections have musical notation in square notes, Italian and German respectively. The manuscript is bound in parchment over thin boards, likely stiff cardboard, with three front paper flyleaves, 154 parchment folios, and two rear paper flyleaves. There are paper pastedowns front and back. The dimensions vary slightly but are approximately 275/280 x 205/217. The manuscript is composed of gatherings of ten, flesh outside, written in 22 long lines. Bannister provides the following collation: A-C<sup>10</sup>, D<sup>12</sup> (42) | E-M<sup>10</sup> (122) | N<sup>10</sup>, OP<sup>12</sup>. The ordines are numbered I to LXXII in the manuscript, and include blessings, important feasts and episcopal ceremonies.

The contents of the manuscript represent a predominantly Roman liturgy.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, about a third of its ordines are based closely on those in the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, which was composed in stages through the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The remaining ordines are a mixture of elements from the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, the twelfth-century Roman Pontifical, the tenth-century Roman-German Pontifical, and local texts, which is not unusual in pontificals dependent on the Pontifical of the Roman Curia but intended for local use. Although many of the Roman ordines in the manuscript were originally somewhat different and have been extensively annotated to bring them into line with curial books, in several instances we can trace the transmission of the local tradition through comparisons with the twelfth-century regional lectionary-pontifical noted above (Saint Petersburg, Biblioteka Rossijskoi Akademii Nauk, F. 200).<sup>12</sup> This manuscript was

<sup>9</sup> Richard GYUG: From Beneventan to Gothic: continuity and change in southern Italian liturgical ceremonies, in F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans (ed.): *Classica et Beneventana: essays presented to Virginia Brown on the occasion of her 65th birthday*, Brepols, Turnhout 2008, 307, 310.

<sup>10</sup> For the editions of the principal medieval Roman pontificals, see Michel ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, 4 vols., Studi et testi 86-88, 99, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1938-1942, including vol. 1: *Le Pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*, vol. 2: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 3: *Le Pontifical romain de Guillaume Durand*, and vol. 4: *Tables alphabétiques*. For the earlier Roman-German pontificals, see Cyrille VOGEL and Reinhard ELZE: *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols., Studi e testi 226-227, 269, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1963, 1972; and for the early medieval Roman ordines on which the pontificals are based, see Michel ANDRIEU: *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols., Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Louvain 1931-1961.

<sup>11</sup> See the Appendix below with references to the Pontifical of the Roman Curia based on MAIER: *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 16. Maier does not, however, include the many ordines that are otherwise distinct but influenced by the Roman pontifical.

<sup>12</sup> For a brief description of the Kotor lectionary-pontifical, see GYUG: From Beneventan to Gothic, 304-305. See also Ludmila KISSELEVA and Patricia STIRNEMANN: *Catalogue des manuscrits médiévaux en écriture latine de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie de Saint-Petersbourg*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Éditions, Paris 2005, 143-144, with one plate; Manja RADULOVIĆ-VULIĆ: *Drevne muzičke kulture Crne Gore*, 2 vols., Univerzitet Crne Gore—Muzička Akademija, Cetinje 2002, 2.112-163, with 17 plates of musical items; and Herbert SCHNEIDER: *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio, Hahnsche

written in Beneventan script in the second half of the twelfth century for the use of the nearby diocese of Kotor, a suffragan of Bari not Dubrovnik. Its ordines are based on ordines from the Roman-German Pontifical, with some elements found in contemporary Roman Pontificals of the Twelfth Century and in Norman-Sicilian pontificals. Nonetheless, the manuscript departs from the Roman tradition at many points.<sup>13</sup> In comparing the Kotor lectionary-pontifical with the Dubrovnik pontifical, we will see continuities between these two manuscripts written in different scripts, Beneventan vs Gothic, which cross the divide between earlier local traditions and the spread of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia.

Three categories of local texts in the Dubrovnik pontifical are noteworthy. First are those that show textual affinities to other local texts but are essentially Roman in practice. Local practices that are distinctive and represent traditions important for the local church are the second category of local text. Finally, some local texts and practices must have appeared irregular as the book circulated in the region and beyond, and were emended. Many ordines in the Dubrovnik pontifical, Burghes. 14, are instructive and deserve study for their local elements, but to show how the local use was presented, and adapted, key examples from the ordinations make the points well, and will suffice for the present demonstration.

The opening ordo for ordaining a cleric (see Plate 1, fol. 1r) provides an example of the first and second categories of local texts. It shows textual affinities between the Dubrovnik and Kotor pontificals that are distinctive but essentially Roman (**Tables 1 and 2**), and it has one practice that is non-Roman but clearly important for the local church.

TABLE 1

Opening rubrics in the Ordo for making a cleric	
Kotor Lectionary-Pontifical (St. Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200), fols. 104v-106r	Dubrovnik Pontifical (Burghes. 14), fols. 1r-2r

Buchhandlung, Hannover 1996, 243-244, 393-403. My edition of the manuscript, *The Bishop's Book of Kotor*, is forthcoming from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., in the Kotor ordo for celebrating a council edited by Herbert Schneider, elements from the early Visigothic ordo, which circulated in canonical collections, the variant form of the same ordo in Burchard's *Decretum* and Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum*, and one of the forms of the ordo in the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century are knit together to form a new ordo; see SCHNEIDER: *Die Konzilsordines*, 393-401 (ordo 12); ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*, 255-260 (ordo 36). Similarly, in its distinctive ordinations, the Kotor liturgist rearranged the liturgical order of the ordinations so that the minor orders received their symbols of office between the principal prayers of ordination, usually called a preface and benediction (Saint Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200, fols. 106v, 110r-119v). This corresponds to the arrangement in the Roman-German ordinations for deacons and priests, but not in the Roman ordinations for the minor orders, in which the bestowals were made before the prayers of ordination; see VOGEL and ELZE: *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, 1.15-19 (ordo 15: 9-24), 1.24-36 (ordo 16: 5-37). Thus, the Kotor liturgist followed the order in the major ordinations and created a parallel structure for the minor orders, contrary to contemporary Roman practice.

1	INCIPIT ORDO CONSECRATIONIS IN ORDINATIONE AECCLISIAE OFFICIORUM.	I. INCIPIT ORDO ROMANUS AD FACIENDUM CLERICUM.
2	In primis ad faciendum clericum.	
3	qui clericus fieri debet in primis requiratur ab archidiacono si littera scit. et si preces memoriter sapit. et cum probauerit	Qui clericus fieri debet primo requiratur si litteratus sit. et si psalmos memoriter sapit. et cum probatus fuerit.
4	eum scire quod officio clericatui conueniat. Tunc suggerat de eo episcopo. et haec examinatio in omnibus officiis fiat.	
5	Episcopus uero cum presentari sibi a parentibus uiderit.	
6	In primis requirat a parentibus hereditariam portionem. que ei contingere debet. Spondentibus uero parentibus recipiatur ab episcopo ad benedicendum. Sed caueat episcopus ne aliquem de condicionalibus absque consensu domini sui uel libertate clericum faciat.	tunc episcopus requirat a parentibus hereditariam portionem que ei contingere debet. Spondentibus uero parentibus recipiatur ab episcopo ad benedicendum. Sed caueat episcopus ne aliquem de condicionalibus absque consensu domini sui uel libertate clericum faciat.

The Kotor and Dubrovnik ordines share distinctive opening rubrics on the scrutiny and qualifications of the candidates. The corresponding ordo in the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia (**Table 2**) does not have any opening rubric, although the Roman tradition provides also for ensuring the qualifications of candidates in other ordines.<sup>14</sup> The textual difference between the Roman tradition and the two Dalmatian pontificals may have meant little, therefore, to the practice of ordination, although the Dalmatian ordines represent a distinctive local textual tradition.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For the qualifications of clerical candidates, see, for instance, ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain de Guillaume Durand*, 338-339 (ordo 1.5, De septem ordinibus clericorum: 1-3).

<sup>15</sup> For a similar case, cited in GYUG, *From Beneventan to Gothic*, 310, see the opening rubrics for the ordination of a priest in the two Dalmatian manuscripts; in the Dubrovnik pontifical, the rubric is written over an erasure:

**Saint Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200, fol. 116r-v:** Presbiter aut diaconus cum consecrantur professionem episcopo suo faciant. ut puri et casti uiuant sub dei timore. ut dum eos tali professio alligat. uite sancte disciplinam retineant . . . Hic super altare in quo episcopus missam cantauerit prius. postea missam cantare eo die non debet. nec super unum altare duas missas uno die aut solus canere presumat. nisi necessitate uel iussione episcopi interueniente.

TABLE 2<sup>16</sup>

Ordo for making a cleric				
	Kotor Lectionary- Kotor Lectionary- Pontifical (St. Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200), fols. 104v-106r	Dubrovnik Pontifical (Burghes. 14), fols. 1r-2r	Thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, ed. ANDRIEU <sup>a</sup>	Other references
1	INCIPIT ORDO CONSECRATIONIS IN ORDINATIONE AECCLISIAE OFFICIORUM.	I. INCIPIT ORDO ROMANUS AD FACIENDUM CLERICUM.	ORDO SEPTEM ECCLESIASTICO- RUM GRADUUM ET IN GRADIBUS ORDINANDI SED ANTE OMNIA CLERICUM FACIENDI.	
2-6	See Table 1 above.	See Table 1 above.	Opening rubrics omitted.	
7	Antequam benedicatur.	in primis		
8	imponat in medio capitis illius tres portiones de cera dicens. <i>In nomine patris et filii et spiritu[s] sancti. Amen.</i>	imponat episcopus in medio capitis illius tres portiones de cera dicens. in prima portione. <i>In nomine patris.</i> in secunda portione		

**Burghes. 14, fol. 10v:** Presbiter cum consecratus professionem episcopo suo facit ut purus et castus uiuat sub dei timore. ut dum eo talis professio alligat. uite sancte disciplinam retineat. Ô Hic super altare in quo episcopus missam cantauerit prius postea cantare missam eo die non decet. nec super unum altare duas missas uno die aut solus missam cantare presumat. nisi necessitate uel iussione episcopi interueniente.

<sup>16</sup> Notes for Table 2:

a Variants and minority readings, of which there are many in Andrieu's edition, are not noted unless relevant for the comparison. See ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine*, 327-328 (ordo 1: 1-5).

b For the ninth-century Supplement to the Hadrianum, see Jean DESHUSSES: *Le Sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vols., ...ditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse, Fribourg [S.] 1979, 1982, vol. 1, pars 2.

c The antiphon »Posuisti« and its psalm are added in the margin.

d The vesting rubric in the prayer »Adesto domine« is omitted in the majority of manuscripts of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia.



		dicat <i>et filii. et in tertia. et spiritus sancti Amen.</i>		
9	Aspergatque super caput eius aquam sanctam cum incenso.	Deinde aspergat super caput eius aquam sanctam cum incenso		
10	Et dicat hanc orationem. <i>Oremus dilectissimi fratres dominum nostrum ... concedat. qui uiuit.</i>	et dicat hanc orationem. <i>Oremus dilectissimi fratres dominum nostrum ... dominum nostrum ... concedat. Qui uiuit ...</i>	[1: 1] <i>Oremus, dilectissimi, dominum nostrum ... concedat. Qui uiuit ...</i>	Supplement <sup>b</sup> 1246
11	Antiphona. <i>Posuisti domine super caput eius coronam. Ps. Domine in uirtute.<sup>c</sup></i>			
12	Oratio. <i>Adesto  domine ... æternam. per.</i>	<i>Oremus.  et diaconus. Flectamus genua. Leuate. Oratio. Adesto domine ... inponimus. Hic induatur superpellitio. ut te largiente ... eternam. per.</i>	[1: 2] <i>Oremus.  Flectamus genua. Leuate. Oratio. Adesto, domine ... habitum Hic induas eum superpelliceo<sup>d</sup> religionis inponimus ... eternam.. Per.</i>	Supplement 1247
13	Post hec episcopus manu sua excidat capillorum partes in quibus portiuncule cere posite sunt.	Post hec eps manu sua excidat partes capillorum in quibus portiones cere posite sunt dicens.		
14	sicque cuiquam astanti iubeat eum radere.			
15	et dum tonditur dicat. antiphonam.		[1: 3] Dum tondes eum dic antiphonam:	



16	<i>Tu es domine ...</i>	R. <i>Tu es domine ...</i> v. <i>Dominus pars</i> <i>hereditatis ...</i>	<i>Tu es, domine ...</i> <i>Dominus pars</i> <i>hereditatis ...</i>	Supplement 1248
17	cum ps. <i>Conserua me deus. usque dominus pars hereditatis mee et calicis mei.</i>		Ps. <i>Conserua me domine usque Tu es.</i>	
18	<i>Gloria.</i>	<i>Tu es dne. Gloria patri. Tu es dne.</i>	Et repetatur <i>Tu es, domine. Vers. Gloria patri. Et repetatur Tu es, domine.</i>	
19	Alia antiphona. <i>Hec est generatio querentium dominum. querentium faciem dei iacob. Ps. Domini est terra.</i>			
20	usque <i>Hic accipiet benedictionem ...</i> <i>Gloria.</i>	sequitur a. <i>Hic accipiet benedictionem ...</i> ps. <i>Domine est terra totum.</i>	Ant. <i>Hic accipiet benedictionem ...</i> Ps. <i>Domini est terra.</i> Totum dicatur cum <i>Gloria et repetatur antiphona Hic accipiet.</i>	Supplement 1249
21	Sequitur oratio. <i>Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne deus. propitiare ... in corde. per.</i>	Sequitur oratio. <i>Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne deus. propitiare ... in corde. per.</i>	[1: 4] <i>Oremus. Oratio. Et dicitur in modum orationis stando et sine mitra. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, propitiare ... in corde. Per.</i>	
22	Alia oratio. <i>Presta quesumus omnipotens deus. ... custodias. per.</i>	Postquam tonsuratus est dicatur hec oratio. <i>Oremus. Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ... custodias. Per.</i>	[1: 5] Postquam tonsuratus est. Oratio. <i>Praesta quesumus, omnipotens deus ... custodias. Per</i>	Supplement 1250

The central prayers for receiving someone into the clerical order are the same in the Roman pontifical, the Kotor lectionary-pontifical and the Dubrovnik pontifical, and are based on the Roman-Frankish prayers standard in the Roman tradition since the ninth-century Supplement to the Hadrianum (Suppl 1246-50). To this Carolingian base, all three ordines add the penultimate prayer »Omnipotens sempiterne deus«, an addition already attested in the tenth-century Roman-German Pontifical. The Kotor ordo adds the antiphon »Posuisti« (Table 2: 11) and the alternative antiphon »Hec est generatio« (Table 2: 19) during the tonsure. Although the opening rubrics on the qualities of the candidates are significant for the local textual tradition (Table 1), more notable in practice are the instructions in the Dalmatian ordines to place wax on the heads of the candidates to mark where they will be tonsured (Table 2: 8, 13). This would have been remarked by visitors since it has no counterpart in Roman pontificals, although a similar practice in cutting a cleric's beard is attested in the Old Spanish Liber ordinum.<sup>17</sup>

At other points, such practices rise to the level of irregularity, although not without ambiguity. For instance, whether and when to sing a litany during the ordinations was a point of changing practice. In the tenth-century Roman-German Pontifical, litanies were sung before the ordinations of both major and minor orders.<sup>18</sup> In the twelfth-century Kotor lectionary-pontifical, its introductory »Ordo romanus ad sacros ordines faciendos« notes that all the ordinations take place after the litany, which means that it followed the practice of the earlier Roman-German Pontifical.<sup>19</sup> In the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, the litany is sung only before the ordination of deacons and priests, not for the minor orders and the subdeacon.<sup>20</sup> While William Durandus notes this practice in his late-thirteenth-century Roman pontifical, he considers it better to sing the litany also before the ordination of subdeacons, thus emphasizing their status as a major order.<sup>21</sup> The Dubrovnik pontifical specifies in a passage written over an erasure

<sup>17</sup> Marius FÉROTIN: *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du Xe au XIe siècle*, Firmin Didot, Paris 1904, ordo XII. Ordo super eum qui barbam tangere cepit, col. 43 ll. 21-23: Et tollens sacerdos de cereo benedicto ceram, in granos extremos in dextro et in sinistro similiter et in medio mento ponens dicit: ... col. 45 ll. 9-11: Ista explicita, intromittit in anulo aureo barbam cum cera, et in anulo barbam et ceram capulat qui barbam tangit, dicens: ...

<sup>18</sup> VOGEL and ELZE: *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, 1.14 (ordo 15: 5, minor orders); 1.21 (ordo 16: 2, major orders, including the subdeacon).

<sup>19</sup> St. Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200, fols. 107v-108r, »Domnus pontifex et sacerdotes, uel ceteri ministri procedunt ante altare. prostrato omni corpore in terra. Finita letania surgunt ab oratione et dicat pontifex. Oremus. Et diaconus. Flectamus genua. Deinde. Leuate. Prosequitur pontifex orationem primam. sicut in sacramentorum libro continetur. Deinde finita prima lectione facto silentio archidiaconus uocat nominatim ac per ordinem eos qui consecrandi sunt«; 109v, »Expletis uero letaniis archidiaconus uocat eos ita dicens. Accedant qui ordinandi sunt hostiarii. siue lectores.« The Kotor ordo also describes how »aput nos« the names of the candidates are read before the tract and then ordained (108r).

<sup>20</sup> ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, 338-339 (ordo 10: 4).

<sup>21</sup> ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain de Guillaume Durand*, 349 (ordo 1.11: 3), the schola begins the litany »quam tamen alii solum in ordinatione diaconorum et presbiterorum dicunt, sed melius est sic fieri, cum subdiaconatus sit sacer ordo«.

that a litany is not sung before ordinations to the minor orders, including the subdiaconate, but is sung only before the ordinations of deacons and priests (2v), thus matching the practice in the Pontifical of the Roman Curia.<sup>22</sup> But what was the practice in the Dubrovnik pontifical before the original text was erased and re-written? The clue that it may once have followed something like the Kotor ordo occurs later in the ordination of a subdeacon where the litany is presented as a regional option to be sung before the ordination of the subdeacon—congruent with Durandus' preference—if it had not been sung before,<sup>23</sup> an indication that on occasion it was sung before for all the ordinations as is the case in the Kotor ordo and may have been the practice erased from the Dubrovnik ordo (2v).

Such instances of adaptation can be multiplied many times through careful consideration of the other ordines in the manuscript. How the corrections are made could, however, vary. We have seen with the ordination of subdeacons that the original hand listed the option to include the subdeacons with deacon and priests, but the corrector erased and rewrote text for the overall ordination ordo to regularize the practice, and distinguish subdeacons for the other major orders. In another instance from the ordination of the subdeacon, Roman practice differed so the corrector deleted the irregular items with marginal notes of »va ... cat,« now cropped except for the closing letters »a« and »t«:

7v (see plate 2): va ... Tunc episcopus tradat ei fanonem in sinistra manu dicens. *Accipe hunc phanonem ad expugnandas spiritualis inimici insidias. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.* Det ei et tunicam dicens. *Constringat cor et corpus tuum timor domini castus et sanctus permanens in secula seculorum amen.* ... cat.

In most manuscripts of the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, the subdeacon receives an empty paten and chalice from the bishop and a pitcher (»urceolum cum aquamanile«) and hand towel (»manutergium«) from the archdeacon.<sup>24</sup> The number of bestowals had begun, however, to multiply already in the twelfth century, and several manuscripts of the Pontifical of the Roman

<sup>22</sup> Burghes. 14, fols. 2v-3v (rewritten text in bold): **Sciendum est quod letania non fit cum acolitus in subdiaconem est ordinandus sed fit tamen pro ordinandis ad diaconatum et presbiteratum et tunc episcopus prosternat se super stramenta cum ordinandis et scola statim imponat letaniam. usque ad propitiationes. Kyrieleyson ... Finitis letaniis surgat episcopus de sede qua prostratus iacet et incipiat ordinare dyaconem et postea presbiterum.**

<sup>23</sup> Burghes. 14, fol. 6v: »III. De officio subdiaconi. Sciendum est quod in quibusdam locis fiunt letanie. scilicet, in inceptione sacrorum ordinum ut est ordo subdiaconatus. diaconatus. et presbiteratus. et ideo si letanie antea non sint dicte hic dicantur cum propitiationibus. quibus finitis dicat archidiaconus. *accedant qui ordinandi sunt subdiaconi.* et cum peruenerint dicat episcopus. *Subdiaconi oportet ...*«

<sup>24</sup> ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, 334 (ordo 9: 2), which is based on ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain du XIIIe siècle*, 128 (ordo 8: 2).

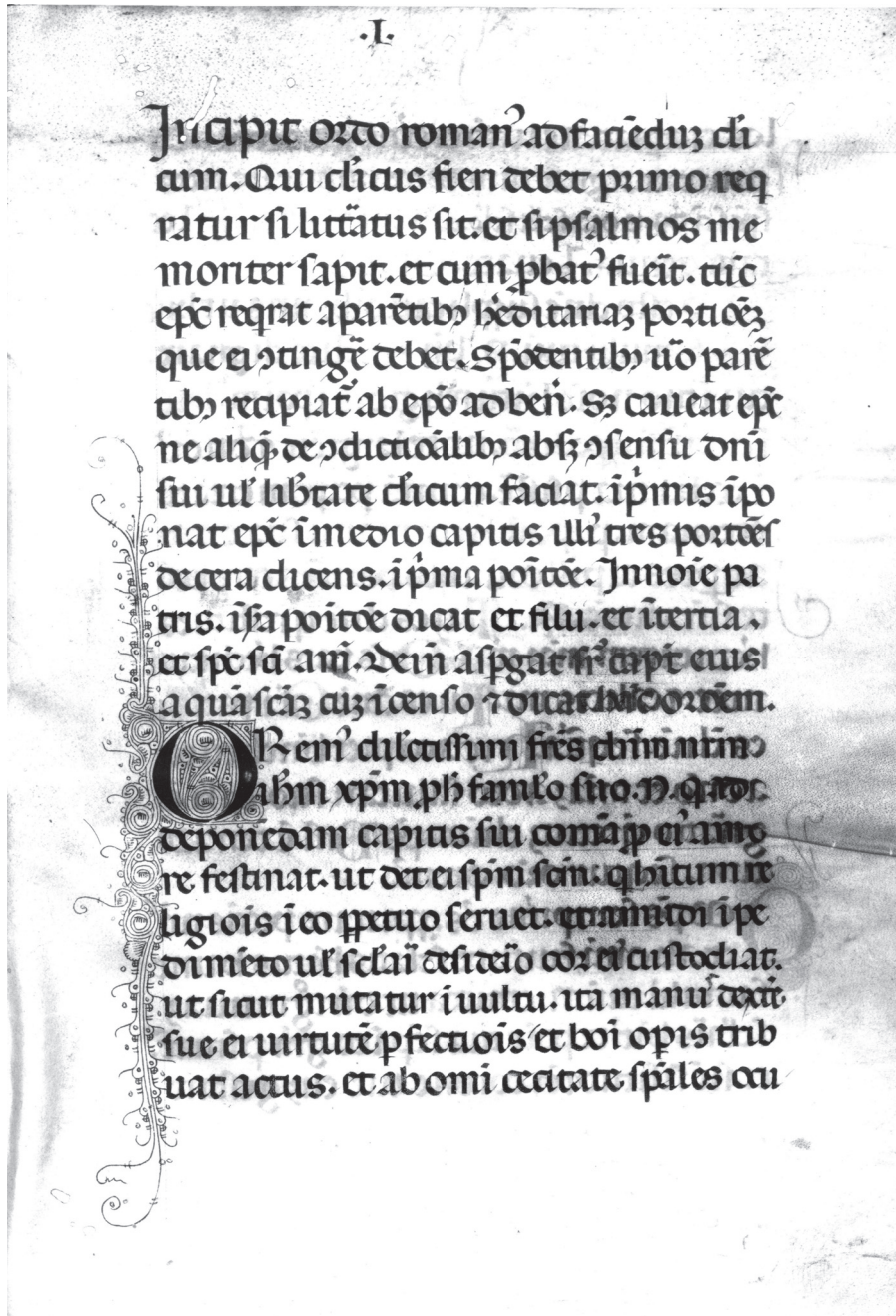


Plate 1: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Burghes. 14, fol. 1r



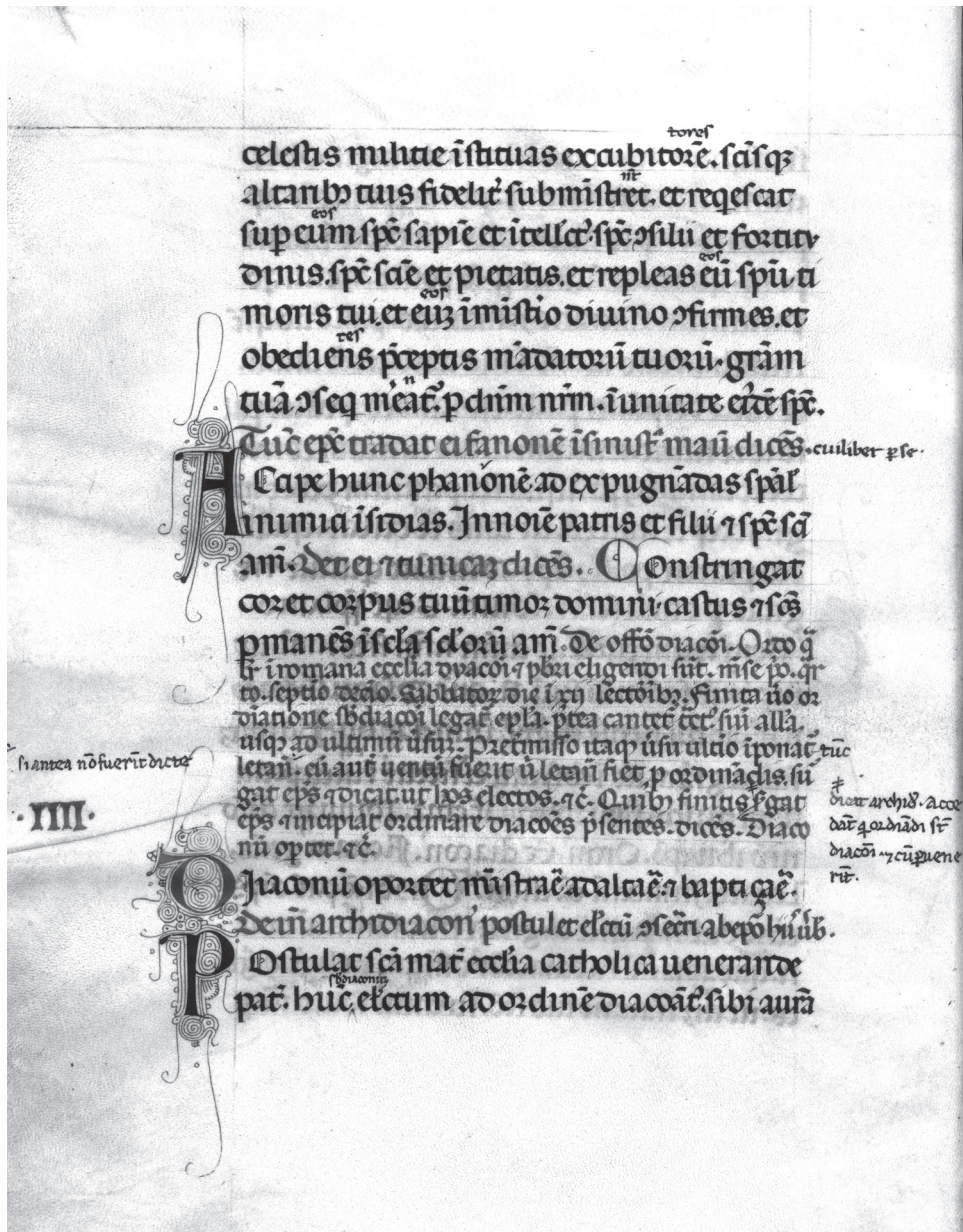


Plate 2: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Burghes. 14, fol. 7v

Curia add bestowals to the basic list.<sup>25</sup> The trend continued until, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Pontifical of William Durandus provides the subdeacon with the amice, maniple, tunicle and book of epistles, as well as the paten, chalice, pitcher and towel long part of the Roman tradition.<sup>26</sup> The maniple was occasionally called a fanon («fano» Lat.), the same term used for a distinct papal vestment.<sup>27</sup> «Fano» is the term used in the Kotor and Dubrovnik ordines, which have a distinct prayer for its bestowal («Accipe hunc phanonem ad expugnandas spiritualis inimici insidias. in nomine patris ...»), a prayer attested as an addition in one manuscript collated for Andrieu's edition of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia.<sup>28</sup> The Kotor and Dubrovnik ordines also bestow a tunicle, and the accompanying prayer («Constringat cor ...») is not found in any of the edited Roman pontificals. These were local practices copied in a period when liturgists were developing their own traditions for the bestowals, but later liturgists, whether in Dalmatia, Avignon or Riga, may have considered these unusual prayers for the bestowal of the fanon and tunicle irregular or may have preferred the tradition of fewer bestowals current in many manuscripts of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, so they deleted the Dubrovnik ordo's prayers with the marginal «va ... cat».

When did these adaptations occur? When the book was still in Dalmatia, when it was in Avignon, or when it came into the possession of bishops in the archdiocese of Riga? There is no definitive answer, although the book remained in use in the

<sup>25</sup> ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, 335-336 (ordo 9: 6-7), includes bestowals of maniples and tunicles in several manuscripts; and p. 335 (note after ordo 9: 5) lists several manuscripts in which contemporary and later correctors added these items and others, including the amice and book of epistles. The Pontifical of Apamea, a thirteenth-century copy of the twelfth-century Roman Pontifical, also added the bestowal of the maniple and tunicle to the earlier items; see ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*, 129 (ordo 8: 6, ms L [Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale, cod. 570, a seventeenth-century copy of the manuscript now identified as London, BL, add. 57528; see Kay, *Pontificalia*, no. 355]). For a summary of the augmentations emphasizing the subdeacon's new status as a major order, see Pierre JOUNEL: Chapter IV: Ordinations, in A.G. Martimort (ed.): *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3: *The Sacraments*, New Edition, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville 1987, 170.

<sup>26</sup> ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain de Guillaume Durand*, 356-358 (1.11: 12, 16-19).

<sup>27</sup> Joseph BRAUN: Maniple, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Robert Appleton Company, New York 1910, 9.601-602; and Roger E. REYNOLDS: Vestments, Liturgical, in Joseph R. Strayer (ed.): *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1989, 12.397-404 at 400-401. For the papal fanon, see Joseph BRAUN: Fanon, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Robert Appleton Company, New York 1909, 5.785; and REYNOLDS, Vestments, 12.397. For examples of the use of «fano» for the subdeacon's maniple, see ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*, 72 (an addition to the ordination of the subdeacon in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Burghes. 49, a thirteenth-century Italian pontifical); and ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, 335 l. 32 (an addition in ms N [Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1154, a fourteenth-century Italian pontifical]) and 336 l. 21 (addition in ms R [Vat. Lat. 1153, a fourteenth-century Italian pontifical]); see also the addition in Burghes. 72, a Pontifical of the Roman Curia cited in the following note.

<sup>28</sup> St. Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200, fol. 113r; Burghes. 14, fol. 7v; and ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, 335 (note following ordo 9: 5, ms T [Città del Vaticano, BAV, Burghes. 72, a fourteenth-century Italian pontifical]). The addition to Burghes. 72 is a bestowal of a maniple and tunicle; the distinct prayer «Accipe hunc phanonem» is applied to the latter, which is a confusion in the text since it clearly refers to a fanon or maniple.

archdiocese of Dubrovnik for some time, as the annotations to the litany indicate (2v). While there, local ecclesiastics were in a position to recognize the second dedication ordo, originally labelled »XXXII. Incipit ordo consecrationis ecclesie«, as local and amend it with »secundum dalmatinos« (43r). Nonetheless, the Pontifical continued to be used in Riga, as is evident from the further annotations to the litany (2v), the *ex libris* (154v), and the northern musical notation in the second ordo for veiling virgins in the final gathering (148v-154r). In the north, it may then have been emended to remove the most distinctive practices, which happened to be Dalmatian. This little-studied manuscript reveals, therefore, a local textual tradition in the copying of liturgical books in southern Dalmatia, which led to continuity between an earlier Beneventan and later Gothic pontifical. It also shows an awareness of local traditions as the manuscript was transferred from region to region in its later history.

APPENDIX<sup>23</sup>

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Burghes. 14		
Contents		
Folios	Contents	Ordines based on the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, ed. ANDRIEU <sup>a</sup>
1r-3v	I. Incipit ordo romanus ad faciendum clericum (ordinations to psalmist, gatekeeper, lector, exorcist and acolyte)	
3v-6v	Psalmista id est cantor ... De officio hostiarii ... De officio lectoris ... De officio exorciste ... De officio acoliti	
6v-7v	III. De officio subdiaconi	
7v-10r	III. De officio diaconi	
10r-14r	V. De officio presbiteri	
14v-15r	VI. Ad incarcerationum siue recludendum aliquem (uel aliquam)	
15r-16r	Ad benedicendum primarium lapidem.	
16r-17v	VIII. Benedictio abbatis uel abbatisse	
17v-18r	IX. In benedictione abbatisse	
18r-19v	X. Ad ui(d ... erased)(Ordo ad uirginem benedicendam, added in the margin)	

<sup>23</sup> Notes for the Appendix:

<sup>a</sup> Ordines closely dependent on the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia are identified by MAIER: *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 16. Maier does not, however, include the many ordines that are otherwise distinct but influenced by the Roman pontifical.



19v-22r	XI. Ordo ad uirginem benedicendam	
22r-24r	XII. Benedictio altarioli itinerarii siue lapidis	
24r-v	XIII. Ordo in dedicatione baptisterii	
24v	XIII. Benedictio noue crucis	
24v	XV. Benedic dne hoc thimiamatharium	
24v-25r	XVI. Benedictio ad omnia que uolueris ecclesiastica	
25r-v	XVII. Benedictio capsarum	
25v	XVIII. Benedictio puthei	
25v-26r	XIX. Benedictio nauis noue	
26r-28r	XX. Incipit ordo qualiter eps debeat celebrare suum concilium	
28r-v	XXI. Benedictio planete dalmatica stole et aliarum uestium sacerdotalium ac leuitarum	Ordo 33
28v	XXII. Benedictio panis in ecclesia populo distribuendi	35
28v-29r	XXIII. Benedictio agni et aliarum cranium	36
29r	XXIII. Benedictio casei lactis et mellis in pascha	37
29r	XXV. Benedictio noue domus	
29r-v	XXVI. Benedictio poliandri seu cymiterii	24
29v-30r	Benedictio uestimentorum monachorum	
30r	XXVIII. Benedictio incense	
30r-v	XXVIII. Benedictio ymaginis sce marie uirginis	
30v	XXX. Item alia benedictio noue domus	41
31r-42r	Incipit ordo romanus consecrationis ecclesie	23a
42v	XXXIII. [sic] (Benedictio corporalis)	
43r-58r	XXXII. Incipit (alius) ordo (secundum dalmatinos) consecrationis ecclesie	
58r	XXXIII. Benedictio lintheamini	23: 75
59r-60v	XXXIII. [Missa in dedicatione ecclesiae]	
60v-62v	XXXV. Reconciliatio ecclesie uiolate	26
62v-70r	XXXVI. Incipit ordo ad uocandum seu examinandum uel consecrandum electum episcopum	11a
70r-72v	Edictum quod dat pontifex episcopo cui benedicit	12
72v-73v	XXXVII. Incipit ordo qualiter summus pontifex apud basilicam beati petri apostoli debeat ordinari ... Item benedictio pape de episcopo facti	13A + 14a
73v-79v	XXXVIII. [Ordo ad benedicendum seu coronandum imperatorem]	15Ba
79v-81v	XXXIX. Si uero regina fuerit coronanda debet ...	15Ba
81v-83v	XL. Incipit ordo ad eiciendos penitentes de ecclesia	
83v-86v	XLI. Dominica in palmis	
86v-94r	XLII. Feria .v. in cena domini	
94r-v	XLIII. Benedictio incense	
94v-96v	XLIII. Feria .vi. die sancto in parasceue	
96v	XLV. Incipit ordo qualiter officium sit agendum in sabbato sancto	
96v-100v	XLVI. Tunc pontifex sacris indutus uestibus cum cruce. aqua benedicta et incenso. Benedicat nouum ignem dicens. Ds qui per filium ...	

100v-101r	XLVII. Qui non est confirmatus non teneat puerum. et hoc signaculo omnia dantur sacramenta. (va) Deinde portentur infantes ad pontificem ...	
101r-v	XLVIII. In sabbato uigilia pentecosten totum officium facimus et ordinem sicut in sabbato sancto fecimus excepto quod non benedicitur cereus et flectamus genua non dicimus	
101v	XLVIII. Benedictio uue	40
101v-104r	L. Incipit ordo ad dandam penitentiam quando peccata sua uult aliquis confiteri.	46
104r-105r	Ordo ad reconciliandum penitentem	47
105r-107r	LI. Ordo ad uisitandum infirmum	48
107r-v	LII. Ordo compendiosus et consequens ad ungendum infirmum	49
107v-108v	LIII. Ordo ad communicandum infirmum	
108r-v	LIII. Benedictio cinerum	50
108v-114r	LV. Ordo commendationis anime	51
114r-118r	LVI. Ordo sepeliendi clericos Romane fraternitatis	52
118v-120v	LVII. Ordo ad cathecuminum faciendum	53
121r-v, 122r-v		Blank
123r-131r	LVIII. Incipiunt benedictiones pontificales in missis	
131r	LVIII. Missa in dedicatione altaris sed totum officium agitur sicut in consecratione ecclesie	
131r-v	LX. Missa in anniuersario dedicationis ecclesie sed totum officium agitur sicut in consecratione ecclesie	
131v-132r	LXI. Benedictio pathene	
132r-v	Ad consecrandum calicem	
133r-142r	LXII. Incipit missa in agenda mortuorum	
142v-143v	LXIII. In purificatione beate Marie ad benedicendum cereos	
143v-144v	LXIII. Feria .iiii. in capite ieiunii ad benedicendum cineres	
144v-145r	LXV. Benedictio crucis quando aliquis uult ire ultra mare	
145r	LXVI. Oratio pro recuperatione terre sancta	
145r-v	Super electum confirmatum in episcopum uel abbatem	
145v-146v	LXVIII. Ordo in consecratione cymiterii	
146v-147r	LXVIII. Consecratio loculi uel sepulcri	
147r-v	LXX. Benedictio ad omnia uestimenta sacerdotalia seu leuitici siue sequentis ordinis benedicenda	
147v	LXXI. Iuramentum quod prestat abbas uel abbatissa in (sua) consecratione	
147v-148r	Iuramentum quod prestat episcopus in (sua) consecratione. suo metropolitano	
148v-149r	Confiteor deo omnipotenti ...	
149v-154r	Ordo ad uelandas uirgines	
154v	<i>ex libris</i> : Ordinarium siue pontificale fratris Frederici archiepi Rigensis ordinis fratrum minorum et pertinens ad ecclesiam Rigensem	

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#### Sažetak

#### DUGI ŽIVOT BENEVENTANSKE TRADICIJE: ODNOS IZMEĐU BENEVENTANSKOG PONTIFIKALA I KOTORA I GOTIČKOG PONTIFIKALA IZ DUBROVNIKA

Malo istraživani vatikanski kodeks Burghes.14 po tipu liturgijske knjige predstavlja pontifikal pisan goticom i datiran na kraj 13. i početak 14. stoljeća. Njegov sadržaj nam svjedoči da je pisan za uporabu u Dubrovniku. Dokaz ove hipoteze su i dva orda koja nalazimo u pontifikalu, te spomen imena sv. Vlaha zaštitnika Dubrovnika, koji se nalazi u litanijama i zavjetima novozaređenih biskupa.

Kodeks je primjer pontifikala »Rimske kurije« iz 13. stoljeća, koji je kopiran i prepisivan i u kasnijim stoljećima. Zanimljivo je da su tek nešto više od polovice sedamdeset pontifikalnih *ordinesa* nepromijenjeni *ordines* Rimskog pontifikala. Ostatak je mješavina elemenata pontifikala »Rimske kurije«, lokalnih orda, Rimsko-njemačkih orda, rimskih orda iz 12. stoljeća i lokalnih tekstova.

Tako, primjerice, pontifikal sadrži dva obrasca Posvete crkve: rimski i obrazac »secundum Dalmatinos«. Mnogi od *orda* (redosljedja) su bili izvorno ponešto drugačiji i stoga su bili jako označeni kroz brisanja i opetovana prepisivanja, ali i kroz marginalije, kako bi se usuglasile s knjigama Rimske kurije.

No, vrlo su rijetko ove prilagodbe prepisivača zadirale u promjenu redosljedja ceremonija, molitava ili blagoslova. Ma koliko god liturgija bila lokalna, ona je još uvijek bila vrlo »rimska«.

Lokalna tradicija pisanja rubrika je na mnogim mjestima promijenjena. Tek je nekolicina rubrika ostala, tako da se u usporedbi može točno vidjeti ono što je mijenjeno.

Posebno su upečatljive rubrike koje nalazimo još samo u kotorskom lekcionaru-pontifikalu iz 12. stoljeća, koji se danas čuva u St. Petersburgu (BRAN, F. 200). Kotorski pontifikal je pisan beneventanskim pismom i predstavlja osebujan spoj rimskih, beneventanskih i normanskih *orda* s brojnim prilagodbama lokalnoj tradiciji.

Usporedba redosljedja zaređivanja iz kasnijeg dubrovačkog pontifikala s ranijim kotorskim, pokazuje istaknutu liturgijsku tradiciju lokalnog predznaka i kontinuitet dvaju regionalnih rukopisa: prvog (dubrovačkog), beneventanskog i drugog, gotičkog (kotskog) pontifikala.

